

THE BONWIT TELLER WINDOW: HOMOEROTICISM AND GENDER PLAY  
IN ANDY WARHOL'S EARLY POP EXHIBITION

BY

DANA LOUISE OSTRANDER

THESIS

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Adviser:

Assistant Professor Terri Weissman

## ABSTRACT

In April of 1961 Andy Warhol exhibited five of his early Pop paintings in the Bonwit Teller window on East 57<sup>th</sup> Street in New York City (Fig. 1). Juxtaposing fashionably clothed mannequins with paintings inspired by popular culture, the display represents a transitional moment in Warhol's career. By 1960 Warhol had begun to decrease his commercial output in pursuit of a career as a gallery artist, taking up painting in lieu of illustration. The resulting paintings offer an unusual assortment of influences, combining commercial subject matter derived from comic books and tabloids with a painterly style reminiscent of the prevailing Abstract Expressionist tradition. In spite of their artificial construction, these visible brushstrokes, blotches, and drips construct a pretense of spontaneity and contingency. In the course of several months, such gestural marks would be removed from Warhol's work entirely. His initial impulse to include them, however, can be at least partially attributed to the financial success and mainstream acceptance of the stereotypically masculine, heterosexual action painters. While most Abstract Expressionist artists appealed to standards of heteronormativity, the sphere of commercial illustration – particularly that which featured fashion, female goods, and conspicuous consumption – was widely considered feminine and therefore homosexual. In this paper, I will argue that Warhol's integration of commercial content and fine art style, his parodic deconstruction of gender binaries, and his smuggling of homoerotic imagery into the heteronormative space of the Bonwit Teller window create a liminal zone where such opposites can be manipulated and merged. Consequently, the April 1961 display is neither gay nor straight, neither low culture nor high brow, neither female nor male. Instead, it is all of these things at once.

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## CHAPTER 1: THE BONWIT TELLER WINDOW

In April of 1961 Andy Warhol exhibited five of his early Pop paintings in the Bonwit Teller window on East 57<sup>th</sup> Street in New York City (Fig. 1). Juxtaposing fashionably clothed mannequins with paintings inspired by popular culture, the display represents a transitional moment in Warhol's career. By 1960 Warhol had begun to decrease his commercial output in pursuit of a career as a gallery artist, taking up painting in lieu of illustration. The resulting paintings offer an unusual assortment of influences, combining commercial subject matter derived from comic books and tabloids with a painterly style that preceded his adoption of the silkscreen printing technique in 1962. Although these early Pop works portray recognizable images like comic book characters, household goods, and brand logos, the representations are partially obscured by more gestural marks reminiscent of the prevailing Abstract Expressionist tradition. In spite of their artificial construction, these visible brushstrokes, blotches, and drips construct a pretense of spontaneity and contingency. In the course of several months, such gestural marks would be removed from Warhol's work entirely. His initial impulse to include them, however, can be at least partially attributed to the financial success and mainstream acceptance of the stereotypically masculine, heterosexual action painters. While most Abstract Expressionist artists appealed to standards of heteronormativity, the sphere of commercial illustration – particularly that which featured fashion, female goods, and conspicuous consumption – was widely considered feminine and therefore homosexual.<sup>1</sup> Warhol was acutely aware of this distinction during the early 1960s, eventually opting to

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth E. Silver, "Modes of Disclosure: The Construction of Gay Identity and the Rise of Pop Art," in *Hand-painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955-62*, Eds. Donna M. De Salvo et al (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992), 197.

transform his 'swish' mannerisms into a more 'camp' persona in order to find acceptance within the art world.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I will argue that Warhol's integration of commercial content and fine art style, his parodic deconstruction of gender binaries, and his smuggling of homoerotic imagery into the heteronormative space of the Bonwit Teller window create a liminal zone where opposites can be manipulated and merged. Consequently, the April 1961 display is neither gay nor straight, neither low culture nor high brow, neither female nor male. Instead, it is all of these things at once.

The only remaining photograph of Warhol's 1961 Bonwit Teller 'exhibition' reveals an intriguing assemblage of mannequin bodies, tabloid-inspired paintings, fashionable dresses, and feminine accessories. Among the works displayed in the 57<sup>th</sup> Street window space were *Advertisement* (1961), *Little King* (1961), *Superman* (1961), *Before & After I* (1961), and *Saturday's Popeye* (1961). Each of the five mannequins has been paired with a painting, creating striking visual connections between the spheres of fashion and art. For example, the fire-engine red dress worn by the central mannequin demands attention, and seems to perfectly match the hue of the superhero's cape in *Superman*. Likewise, the black and white floral sleeveless dress on the mannequin next to her evokes the rhythmic splashes of black paint in *Before and After I*. And yet despite these correspondences, there is nevertheless a spatial distinction upheld between the cotton canvases and cotton dresses. The mannequins are positioned in a row toward the front of the display case, with their bodies blocking out parts of the paintings behind them. One work, called *Little King*, sits on an easel – presumably to indicate its identity as a painted product rather than a commercial illustration. The remaining works appear to be hung from the ceiling, as if in a

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<sup>2</sup> Richard Meyer, "Most Wanted Men: Homoeroticism and the Secret of Censorship in Early Warhol," in *Outlaw Representation: Censorship & Homosexuality in Twentieth-century American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 123-125.

gallery. The central mannequin, a focal point of the display due to her brightly colored dress, even appears to look over her shoulder as if to observe the art.

Within this exhibition, the status of Pop art is fraught with uncertainty: while possessing the patterning and coloration of high fashion, the paintings are offset within the space to suggest a higher realm of artistic creation. While depicting low culture subject matter, their expressive style indicates their status as fine art. And while they seem to be separate from the products for sale within the department store window, their ultimate fate is commercialization and consumption within the art market. But it is not simply the status of art that is negotiated in this window – it is also Warhol's personal identity as a homosexual man that is at stake. While many window dressers identified as gay during this time, their professional output did not reflect their own sexual predilections. By contrast, Warhol's window display captures the complex negotiations of gender and sexuality that he undertook when attempting to achieve success as a fine artist. Not only do the bodies and images in this space interact with one another to perform gender ambiguity, but they can also be argued to act as erotic stimuli for homosexual audiences. Of course, these subversive messages occur at the level of subtext, camouflaged by the seemingly heteronormative space of the department store window.

## CHAPTER 2: WARHOL'S EARLY POP PAINTINGS

The art used as a backdrop for window displays at Bonwit's during the 1950s and 60s was typically determined and commissioned by the display director, Gene Moore. Upon receiving a window assignment, Warhol would be shown the merchandise intended for display and asked to design and illustrate a specific atmosphere for the goods. In the case of Warhol's mid-April exhibit, however, it was the artist himself who determined the content and arrangement of the display, selecting preexisting works from a collection of gestural Pop paintings he had recently completed. The advertisement and comic images featured in Warhol's Bonwit Teller exhibit were all derived from printed sources published between March 18, 1961 and April 2, 1961. Considering that Warhol's exhibit was mounted for one week in mid-April of 1961, we can conclude that these works were recently painted at the time of their display. Consequently, they may have appeared strangely familiar and ultra-contemporary to any passersby who recognized the images from the previous week's gossip rag or funnies page – perhaps provoking audiences to confront the paintings' status as art. Three of the works feature subjects derived from comic strips, one takes its inspiration from a plastic surgery advertisement, and the last represents an assemblage of images from a variety of low-brow print sources. Although his commercial assistant, Nathan Gluck, attempted to advise Warhol on the selection of paintings to be shown, Warhol reportedly ignored this counsel and made his own choices.<sup>3</sup> The resulting exhibition demonstrates an internal coherence, whereby both the fashionably clothed mannequins and the commercial images of self-transformation illustrate themes of physical alteration, gender bending, and sexual titillation.

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<sup>3</sup> Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Phaidon, 2002), 001.



One of the three cartoon-inspired paintings is called *Little King* (Fig. 2), and is based on the eponymous comic strip created in 1931 by cartoonist Otto Soglow. While the coloration, simple lines, and reduced forms are all reminiscent of the illustrator's work, Warhol emphasized the painted quality of his own iteration by making his brushstrokes and paint drips readily apparent on the canvas. The original series depicted a diminutive monarch who never spoke but conveyed humor through his undignified behavior and exaggerated pantomime. In his version, Warhol reproduced four frames of the *Little King* driving a car, a strip which originally appeared in the April 2, 1961 edition of the *New York Journal-American* (Fig. 3). The top row of Soglow's comic strip sets up the plot: we see the *Little King* speeding through a landscape, headed straight toward the figure of a man in armor. The knight's erect posture and long spear lend him an air of stalwartness and impenetrability. However, in the bottom row of frames we witness the *Little King* crashing into the knight, only to discover that he was not a man at all – but simply a suit of armor. Rather than repainting the entire strip, Warhol cropped the image to include fragments of the four central frames. As a result, the comic's chronology is ruptured and the narrative collapses, much like the suit of armor. Themes of manliness, power, and strength begin to emerge within these cartoon-inspired paintings.

Next to *Little Prince*, and partially overlapped by it, is *Superman* (Fig. 4). This painting is modeled after a frame from issue #24 of the comic book called *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane*, which DC National Comics released in April of 1961. The comic book was an offshoot from the original *Superman* storyline, and was created to give Lois Lane her own ongoing series. Beginning in March of 1958, the issues focused on Lois Lane's attempts to maneuver *Superman* into romance and marriage, a scheme which is ultimately thwarted due to a comic plot twist. One storyline in issue #24, called "The Perfect Husband!," (Fig. 5) shows Lois Lane falling in love

with a wealthy veteran and Clark Kent double named Roger Warner. Unfortunately, Superman exposes Warner as a bald man by blowing off his toupee with his “super-breath.” Warner is so embarrassed that he runs away, leaving Lois single once more. Various issues of gender and sexuality arise within this narrative. Warner’s masculinity is effectively called into question by his humiliating hair loss, which he feels compelled to mask with a wig.<sup>4</sup> Clark Kent also wears a disguise, in the sense that he camouflages his secret identity as Superman with a bland business suit and a mild-mannered demeanor. Images of visual transformation proliferate within the window, often entailing an enhancement of masculinity or femininity through the transcendence or concealment of physical flaws. In the case of Superman, any hint of danger results in the metamorphosis of Clark Kent into a hulking hero. Warhol’s painting demonstrates Superman’s strength by depicting him in the act of extinguishing a forest fire with his ‘super-breath.’ In the image, he hovers over the scene, his taut muscles alluding to both power and physical exertion; a blast of air projecting from his mouth fills the canvas. While the onomatopoeia “PUFF!” is prominently reproduced in red, Superman’s thoughts – expressed by the bubble over his head – have been partially effaced by a white wash of paint.

Between Superman and Popeye is a more commercial image, copied from an advertisement in the April 2, 1961 edition of *National Enquirer*. *Before & After I* (Fig. 6) depicts the pre- and post-appearance of a woman who has undergone rhinoplasty. The duplicated profile of the woman’s face has been rendered in blotchy brushstrokes, with patches of white canvas peeking through the swatches of paint. The bolded, cropped letters in the upper right hand corner are vaguely reminiscent of an advertisement one might find in the back pages of a beauty magazine. Although they seem to indicate the word “SHAPED” or “RESHAPED” – possibly

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<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, Warhol himself had begun self-consciously wearing a wig around 1955 due to the advent of hair loss. (Lewis MacAdams, *Birth of the Cool: Beat, Bebop, and the American Avant-garde* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 237.)

referring to the perfected nose – they remain frustratingly illegible. In certain places the image has been corrected with white paint, applied imprecisely with broad strokes. Meanwhile, several drips of black paint stream down the canvas in long rivulets. The work has an unfinished quality: if only the illustrator would add shading, fill in the missing letters, and clean up any stray marks, we might be convinced of the miraculous transformation a nose job could bring us. Rhinoplasty was a relatively new procedure during the 1950s, but gained popularity as the decade wore on.<sup>5</sup> Due to the severe facial deformities suffered by soldiers during World War II, surgeons began to experiment with new reconstructive faciomaxillary procedures. These techniques would go on to find more cosmetic uses, and these vanity-related operations were marketed specifically towards women.

One British Pathé newsreel from 1950 details the procedure, glorifying the doctor's ability to "[restore] tranquility to the face and mind of womanhood." The short film shows a 'before' image of one patient, followed by a dissolve into her new and improved profile, with the narrator proclaiming that it is "the same girl, but what a weight off her mind...she faces life transformed."<sup>6</sup> By the late 1950s, printed advertisements for transformative procedures filled the back pages of magazines like *The National Enquirer*. Similarly, the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were littered with self-improvement products, guaranteed to help women cure age spots, achieve the perfect tan, remove unwanted hair in certain places and grow hair in others, and slim their waistlines. The original image used as a model for Warhol's 'before and after' painting is one of such ads (Fig. 7). Its bolded headline announces "NOSES RESHAPED," while the copy lists a remarkable range of additional physical imperfections demanding

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<sup>5</sup> Warhol himself had undergone rhinoplasty by around 1952, as evidenced by Otto Fenn's portrait of him, titled "Andy Warhol With Altered Nose." (In *"Success is a Job in New York--": The Early Art and Business of Andy Warhol*, Ed. Donna M. De Salvo (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1989), ix.)

<sup>6</sup> "Plastic Surgery 1950," *British Pathé*. <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/plastic-surgery>. (Accessed April 19, 2013).

alteration: “Outstanding ears, lips, loose skin, wrinkles, eyelids, large, small breasts, acne pits and moles, etc., corrected by plastic surgery.”<sup>7</sup> It is a litany of fragmented body parts, a loose arrangement of components required to make a woman.

Standing in contrast to the feminine concerns addressed by ‘before and after’ painting is the machismo of another canvas which partially obscures it. Hanging from the ceiling, *Saturday’s Popeye* (Fig. 8) blocks the upper right portion—the eye—of the beautified woman’s face, effectively drawing attention to her surgically corrected nose. Of all the works in the Bonwit Teller window, *Saturday’s Popeye* is perhaps the most abstract. The painting evokes the sailor both through his name – rendered as an absence of text – as well as his distinctive silhouette. On the left we see the form of Popeye, a negative image produced by the outline of blue paint on white canvas. He appears to be in the process of swinging his fist, as evidenced by the curved action lines, dizzying stars, and jagged impact point. However, the exact circumstances of the scene are unclear as the white blank has not been filled in with details. In the frame on the right, the outlines of another scene have been demarcated but similarly refuse legibility – save for the shouted word “Popeye!” in the speech bubble above. As with the other paintings in the Bonwit Teller display, long drips of paint break up the canvas, and a seemingly unnecessary swatch of white paint covers the bottom. The publication day of the comic strip is indicated by the letters “SATURD,” although the word is left incomplete.

Derived from printed source material, the images in this painting have been traced to a cartoon published in the March 18, 1961 edition of New York Journal-American. Popeye, an exaggeratedly masculine sailor with a penchant for spinach, had been popular ever since his introduction in 1929, and was iconic by the year 1961. In this particular comic strip, Swee’pea and Wimpy are competing over who gets to eat Swee’pea’s bag lunch, while Popeye amusedly

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<sup>7</sup> Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 007.

watches. Of the twelve original frames, Warhol only produces two – the title illustration and the first frame (Figs. 9-10). The juxtaposition of the sailor's swinging fist and the exclamation "Popeye!" create a sense of urgency, as if Popeye is being summoned for protection. Although we are unable to identify his sailor hat, pipe, and anchor tattoo in Warhol's image, we do witness his muscular silhouette, protruding jaw line, and bulky biceps. Like Superman, Popeye is a character with the ability to transform from an average man into a hero – as long as he has a can of spinach on hand.

Compared to the other paintings exhibited in the Bonwit Teller window display, Advertisement (Fig. 11) stands out as an anomaly. Rather than presenting scenes from one single print source, it combines logos, ads, slogans, and prices from a range of contrasting publications. Some fragmented images, like the ruptured torso and the woman's profile, became the focus of larger canvases like *Where is Your Rupture?* and *Before & After I*. Meanwhile others, like the bodybuilder, the Pepsi Cola logo, and the male face in profile, appear only in this work. Letters and words have been removed from phrases to complicate the easy recognition offered by product slogans. Likewise, logos which would be readily identifiable are left unfinished and illegible. Advertisement, along with the rest of the paintings Warhol exhibited in the window, hovers on the threshold of illustration and painting. It possesses neither the composed look and bold message of an ad nor the excessive painterliness of highly abstracted fine art. And yet it is both at once, a composite construction that refuses to be simply one thing. The fragmented images likewise speak to this idea of intermediacy. They all involve processes of transformation, with slogans like "STRONG ARMS," "NOSES RESHAPED," and "Where is Your RUPTURE?" References to the body abound in Warhol's paintings, provoking passersby to confront their own physical inadequacies in comparison to the ideal beauty of the mannequins in

the store window. This is the creation of desire – the implication that purchasing a new cotton day dress results in an entirely new woman.

### CHAPTER 3: COMMERCIAL ILLUSTRATION AND FINE ART

All of the works on display were painted in the aforementioned gestural style – complete with washes, drips, and brushstrokes – which stands in contrast to Warhol’s later method of mechanized screen printing. The conceit, or aesthetic device, at work in these paintings is that the drips are accidental. In fact, several entries in *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* support this interpretation, stating that “the colors have dripped in several cases,” and that “the occasional drip mark of the water-based paint has been allowed to remain, becoming integrated into the original design.”<sup>8</sup> Yet based on anecdotes related by Warhol’s friends and colleagues – as well as the constructed quality of the gestural marks, which becomes apparent upon closer examination – any suggestion of spontaneity and contingency must be called into question.

Multiple stories account for the creation of and reasoning behind these gestural works. Filmmaker Emile de Antonio and art dealer Ivan Karp recall having seen examples of identical imagery rendered in two distinct styles – one version containing drips and the other composed of clean lines. Karp, who at the time was a gallery assistant for Leo Castelli, recounts the story in self-aggrandizing terms:

He [Andy Warhol] showed me a body of work, and they were largely of cartoon subject matter. And they were, as I rapidly discerned with my acute perception, of two distinct types. One was a group of cartoon characters which were expressionistically (that is, were sketchily) done. And the outlines of the figures were ideologically connected to the prevailing tradition of Abstract Expressionism - a lot of dripping and of loose painting and a lot of what you would call 'action gesture.' Although, there was another group of paintings that were very cartoon-live, very static and very stylized.<sup>9</sup>

Upon observing the stark contrast between the two groups of images, Karp expressed conviction that the new stylized version was more “legitimate” because it did not rely on the tradition that

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<sup>8</sup> Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 011, 027-029.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 351.

preceded it. When asked by Karp what his motivation was for splashing paint upon an otherwise streamlined image, Warhol responded that he preferred the Pop iterations, “but it seemed that there would be no audience interest in any work that was not expressive in this style. In other words, you can't do a painting without a drip.” Karp disagreed: “Maybe, you can make a painting in modern times without a drip.”<sup>10</sup>

But in 1961 it would have been difficult for viewers to see the paintings Karp identifies as more “legitimate” as anything other than advertisements. Benjamin Buchloh elaborates on this point in “Andy Warhol’s one-dimensional art: 1956-1966,”

What appeared to be cynical, mere copies of commercial art, early in 1960 had to scandalize then still dominant art world expectations (and self-deceptions). At the climax of the reception of abstract expressionism, this art would shock all the more because the public’s eyes were unfamiliar with or had conveniently disavowed the work of Picabia’s mechanical period, for example, or had preferred to ignore the implications of Duchamp’s readymades.<sup>11</sup>

Buchloh continues, “the local preeminence of abstract expressionist painting and its definitions of mark-making as expressive gestural abstraction had...required that, in order to be ‘seen’ or ‘legible’ as art at all, one had to inscribe oneself into these locally dominant painterly conventions.”<sup>12</sup> In short, by associating his early Pop work with the painterly tradition that preceded it, Warhol sought to legitimize his practice by making his paintings visible to potential buyers as fine art.

As early as 1952, Harold Rosenberg presciently observed the commodification of Abstract Expressionism – a style which he had presumed would transcend capitalism by virtue of

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<sup>10</sup> Smith, *Art and Films*, 351.

<sup>11</sup> Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One-Dimensional Art: 1956-1966,” in *Andy Warhol*, Eds. Annette Michelson and B.H.D. Buchloh (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 8-9. Richard Meyer critiques this argument, however, suggesting that Buchloh’s placement of Warhol’s early art within a lineage of the New York avant-garde fails to account for the themes of femininity, fashion, and consumer desire that the images evoke. (Richard Meyer, “Most Wanted Men: Homoeroticism and the Secret of Censorship in Early Warhol,” in *Outlaw Representation: Censorship & Homosexuality in Twentieth-century American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 106-106.)

<sup>12</sup> Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One-Dimensional Art,” 20.



its aesthetic autonomy. In his canonical essay, “The American Action Painters,” Rosenberg discusses the transformation that a work of art undergoes when it enters the market: “It is the painter himself changed into a ghost inhabiting The Art World. Here the common phrase, ‘I have bought an O—’ (rather than a painting by O—) becomes literally true. The [artist] has remade himself into a commodity with a trademark.”<sup>13</sup> Thus, years before Warhol began to incorporate such ‘trademarks’ into his own work, Rosenberg already understood how the spontaneous gesture or non-duplicable mark—as it is connected to a particular artist’s hand – could be used to classify and brand individual artists. By the early 1960s, the gestural mark by which Abstract Expressionists had inadvertently branded themselves was now being reappropriated by artists like Warhol in order to make their own work more saleable. Arthur Danto, for instance, describes Warhol’s invocation of the Abstract Expressionist mark as a deliberate act of self-promotion:

The drips did not come from some inner conviction. They did not refer to that moment of trance when the Abstract Expressionist painter moved the paint around without tidying up. “The drip” in fact was felt in those years to be a discovery. It was a sign of authenticity. Not for Warhol. It was, for him, an affectation, a form of branding his work as now.<sup>14</sup>

True enough, but by the time Warhol began his series of gestural paintings – many of which would go on to be shown in the Bonwit Teller window – Abstract Expressionism was no longer “now.” By the late 1950s, the once-shocking movement had been incorporated into American culture so thoroughly as to be ubiquitous and even conventional. It even attained a presence within popular culture – as evidenced by the drip-style dress which premiered in the March 1952 issue of *Vogue* (Fig. 12). By the time of Pollock’s death in 1956, dealers in Abstract Expressionist art were witnessing widespread market success due to post-war consumer

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<sup>13</sup> Harold Rosenberg, “The American Action Painters,” in *The Tradition of the New* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1982), 34.

<sup>14</sup> Arthur Coleman Danto, *Andy Warhol* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 14.

confidence and a new generation of art collectors.<sup>15</sup> If the ‘drip’ had become the visual device that marked a painting as saleable, Warhol believed he had only to integrate this sign into his own work in order to guarantee automatic success.

Implicit in Warhol’s embrace of ‘high art’ was a developing ambivalence towards his previous commercial illustration work. Due to the success of several paid projects, such as the fanciful I. Miller & Sons Shoes advertising campaign (Fig. 13) and the prominent Bonwit Teller window displays, Warhol had acquired a reputation as “one of New York’s best-known and highest paid commercial artists of the fifties.”<sup>16</sup> Initially, it seems he saw little distinction between his commercial work and what he called his art. As Gene Moore recalls, “To his credit, I think it was all the same to him. He was a very busy young man.”<sup>17</sup> In fact, during the 1950s Warhol used the same techniques from his professional work, such as hand drawing, gold leaf, and his blotted line technique – whereby ink images were transferred from non-absorbent paper onto a new sheet to create a distinctive dappled line – to create more private images of young boys and men. The resulting illustrations ranged from campy to blatantly homoerotic. However, a series of failed gallery exhibitions featuring such work seems to have caused Warhol to reconsider the fine art potential of his drawings.<sup>18</sup>

One of Warhol’s first exhibits took place in 1952 at the Hugo Gallery in New York City, called *Fifteen Drawings based on the Writings of Truman Capote* (illustrations now lost). Whether due to the subject matter – whimsical drawings of boys and butterflies – or the fact that it was inspired by the work of an openly homosexual author, the show received almost no critical attention. Its only review appeared in *Art Digest*, with the author James Fitzsimmons describing

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<sup>15</sup> Deirdre Robson, "The Market for Abstract Expressionism: The Time Lag between Critical and Commercial Acceptance," *Archives of American Art Journal* 30.1/4 (1990): 116-118, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1557649>.

<sup>16</sup> Silver, "Modes of Disclosure," 194-195.

<sup>17</sup> Gene Moore, *My Time at Tiffany's* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 69.

<sup>18</sup> Meyer, "Most Wanted Men," 125.

the work as “fragile” and having “an air of preciousity, of carefully studied perversity.”<sup>19</sup>

Warhol’s delicate illustrative style is thus inextricably linked to effeteness and perceived sexual deviance. In 1956 Warhol had another opportunity to show his work, this time in an exhibition called *Studies for a Boy Book*, which opened at the Bodley Gallery. Unsurprisingly, these fanciful illustrations of the youthful male body (Fig. 14) opened to a deafening critical silence. When Warhol submitted another set of homoerotic drawings to the Tanager Cooperative in the late 1950s, the work was promptly refused due to its subject matter. Phillip Pearlstein, a friend, artist, and member of the board explained the rejection in an interview many years later. Pearlstein recalls that the series of small illustrations portraying “boys kissing boys with their tongues in each other’s mouths” was “totally unacceptable, as far as the subject goes...It was embarrassing. The men in the gallery were all macho...some subject matters were best to avoid, the more neutral the subject the better.”<sup>20</sup>

While the negative reception of Warhol’s early drawings is largely attributable to their unconcealed homosexual imagery, his decorative illustration style also became entangled in such judgments of flamboyancy. During the late 1950s, artistic professions were considered relatively feminine due to their emphasis on creativity and design, and this perceived femininity was accompanied by the suspicion of homosexual predilections.<sup>21</sup> The emergence of the Kinsey Report, and particularly the 1948 publication *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, highlighted the possibility of latent homosexuality within the general population. For fine art to retain its market and find mainstream acceptance within museums, artists would need to habitually produce normative heterosexuality through a “full-scale repudiation and rejection of

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<sup>19</sup> Meyer, “Most Wanted Men,” 109.

<sup>20</sup> Phillip Pearlstein, quoted in Meyer, “Most Wanted Men,” 96.

<sup>21</sup> Gavin Butt, *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World, 1948-1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 48.

homosexuality.”<sup>22</sup> By contrast, commercial illustration – with its focus on fashion, shopping, and consumer culture – could not escape homoerotic suspicion during the 1950s. As Richard Meyer and Kenneth Silver have argued, it is Warhol’s participation in the feminine realm of commercial art which identified him as a homosexual and marked his artistic endeavors as unacceptable for display within the fine art gallery.<sup>23</sup> Poet John Giorno, Warhol’s partner during the early 1960s, recalls the situation quite clearly in his autobiography: “The art world was homophobic, and an ever-present threat. Anyone who was gay was at a disadvantage. An artist overtly with a boyfriend was at a complete disadvantage, and could ruin his career.”<sup>24</sup> Meyer suggests that Warhol quickly realized it was his reputation as a commercial illustrator and openly gay man that was preventing his success within the art world, and took measures to redefine his persona as well as his oeuvre:

In the early 1960s, Warhol gradually abandoned his professional life as a commercial illustrator so as to concentrate on his career as a gallery artist. In developing what would become his signature style of Pop art (deadpan repetitions of media images and consumer product designs), Warhol increasingly moved away from the hand-drawn and flamboyantly decorative pictorial style of his earlier work.<sup>25</sup>

Whether real or imagined, the boundary that Warhol perceived between commercial and fine art spheres was enough to make him radically alter not only the content but also the style of his art.

Although Warhol’s blotted line technique is considered distinctive, personal, and expressive within the context of 1950s commercial illustration, his adoption of stereotypically masculine Abstract Expressionist mark-making in the early 1960s offers a brief but noticeable shift to a more exaggeratedly gestural style. The state of graphic art during the 1950s was changing rapidly, particularly due to the burgeoning use of photography in the creation of

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<sup>22</sup> Butt, *Between You and Me*, 48.

<sup>23</sup> Silver, “Modes of Disclosure,” 197.

<sup>24</sup> John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 132.

<sup>25</sup> Meyer, “Most Wanted Men,” 123-125.

advertisements. The ability to reproduce realistic images of products prompted illustrators to either convert to photographic processes or conversely emphasize the handmade against the straightforward mimesis of the camera<sup>26</sup> In their essay on Warhol's commercial art of the 1950s, Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller confirm that line art "served as a 'signature' or record of the artist's personality;" and yet they also note that "while 'artistic' illustration fostered associations of originality attached to painting, it still had to accommodate the techniques of photo-mechanical production."<sup>27</sup> Reproducing images through the process of offset or letterpress printing required that the image consisted of pure black and white, with no tonal gradations. Warhol's blotted line technique (Fig. 15) certainly adhered to these specifications. Furthermore, the process by which Warhol created his illustrations to a certain extent minimized their spontaneity: the technique involved drawing an image on non-absorbent paper and then pressing the still-wet illustration onto another sheet in order to create a speckled mirror image. In this way, the artist's hand is mediated by the transfer apparatus of the non-absorbent paper. Ultimately, the line drawing possesses an expressive quality but lacks the immediacy of bodily action displayed by fine artists working within the Abstract Expressionist tradition. In fact, one 1958 trade magazine pointed out the inappropriateness of Abstract Expressionist style for everyday advertising, remarking, "Certainly a shoe ad neither could nor should be heightened with the emotional intensity that characterizes de Kooning's *Women*."<sup>28</sup>

If Warhol's celebrated I. Miller shoe ads (Fig. 16) lack the emotional intensity of de Kooning's work, the alterations of medium, scale, and style that Warhol undertook during the early 1960s are certainly an attempt to ameliorate this fact. In these years, the artist began to shift

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<sup>26</sup> Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, "Line Art: Andy Warhol and the Commercial Art World of the 1950s," in *"Success is a Job in New York--": The Early Art and Business of Andy Warhol*, Ed. Donna M. De Salvo (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1989), 29.

<sup>27</sup> Lupton and Miller, "Line Art," 29.

<sup>28</sup> Lupton and Miller, "Line Art," 35.

his focus from drawing to painting, initiating the series of gestural works that would later be shown to Ivan Karp and Emile de Antonio. First exhibited in the Bonwit Teller window, these paintings are accumulations of contradictory impulses; they capture a moment of ambiguity which links the typically isolated phases of Warhol's commercial career and fine art success. Within them one observes a constant striving toward what Warhol perceived as Art with a capital "a" – an insistent endeavor to reify the commercial content to which he remained obsessively attached. In some ways, Warhol used the medium of paint itself to suggest the elevated status of his work. Many of Warhol's early Pop paintings – including those exhibited in the Bonwit Teller window – were completed using casein, a fast-drying medium popular among illustrators during the early 1960s. By 1962, however, he had switched almost exclusively to acrylic – a water-soluble pigment that became commercially available in 1955 and was marketed as artists' paint by companies like Liquitex. Warhol himself admitted to the repression of his own illustrations in favor of painted works, a practice which intensified following a negative experience with a potential buyer:

By the time Ivan [Karp] introduced me to Henry [Geldzahler in 1960], I was keeping my commercial drawings absolutely buried in another part of the house because one of the people Ivan had brought by before had remembered me from my commercial art days and asked to see some drawings. As soon as I showed them to him, his whole attitude toward me changed. I could actually see him changing his mind about my paintings, so from then on I decided to have a firm no-show policy about the drawings.<sup>29</sup>

With the change in medium came a change in the size of Warhol's work. While his illustrations were drawn on a small scale and reproduced in print sources like newspapers and magazines, his paintings were significantly larger. Moreover, their increased proportions involved the magnification of the small print sources that Warhol used as his subject matter.

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<sup>29</sup> Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol '60s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 17.

These paintings were not the size of a quarter-page advertisement or an enormous billboard – they were proportioned to evoke the dimensions of the gallery painting.

Finally, Warhol's method of paint application and his obfuscated depictions of mass-produced goods show a similar shift from the practices of commercial art to the standards of fine art.<sup>30</sup> Lacking polish and evoking an incomplete quality, Warhol's gestural paintings halfheartedly obscure the clean, hard-edges of commercial advertisements with washes of color, drips, and obvious brush strokes. In the Bonwit Teller window display, iconic figures such as Superman and Popeye are decontextualized from their comic strip framework and composed of dripping blotches of color. The 'before and after' image advertising rhinoplasty has been fragmented to exclude the surgeon's name and promotional details. And in the product montage ironically titled *Advertisement*, product images, advertising copy, and logos have been cropped or effaced – resulting in both an evocation and negation of product branding. In a sense, the illegibility of Warhol's advertisement paintings is what successfully distinguishes them from real ads – which, by contrast, must be easily interpreted for maximum marketing effect.

In his book *Image Duplicator*, Michael Lobel makes a similar claim about the work of Roy Lichtenstein, whom he writes “retains a vestige of product logo or brand marking...but alters the text to the point of unreadability. Whatever the means, this kind of alteration has profound significance in a society in which consumer activity is structured around the precision of brand names.”<sup>31</sup> Indeed, branding had reached an unprecedented scale within this period. As architectural critic Reyner Banham explained in 1961, “During the 1950s, it became the practice in all large industrial concerns to inculcate into the minds of the public a recognisable style to identify their products or services....Where unification of style...was undertaken as part of an

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<sup>30</sup> Meyer, “Most Wanted Men,” 128.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Lobel, *Image Duplicator: Roy Lichtenstein and the Emergence of Pop Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 44.

advertising campaign it was called ‘fixing the brand image.’<sup>32</sup> The Pop artist’s dilemma, then, was discerning how to use mass-produced goods in their work without minimizing their own status as an artist. In the case of Lichtenstein, Lobel concludes that the artist’s removal of distinguishing brand names and catchphrases “attempted to make the comics look like his images. His distinctive treatment of appropriated imagery eliminated details that would otherwise have pointed to the previous authorship of these images.”<sup>33</sup> Like Lichtenstein, Warhol attempted to foreground his own authorial intervention into the commercial illustration by excising the telltale qualities of advertisement and replacing them with the visual stereotypes of fine art.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the removal of commercial trademarks and the substitution of a stylistic brand – that of Abstract Expressionism – mark the paintings as a distinctly Warholian invention. In the Bonwit Teller display, then, Warhol in some senses was selling his own artistic persona.

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<sup>32</sup> Reyner Banham, quoted in Anthony E. Grudin, "'A Sign of Good Taste': Andy Warhol and the Rise of Brand Image Advertising," *Oxford Art Journal* 33, no. 2 (2010): 216, <http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aft&AN=505294415&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>33</sup> Lobel, *Image Duplicator*, 46.

<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that within the span of a year, Warhol began reinserting product names into his work – with the most notable example being the Campbell’s Soup can series exhibited at the Ferus Gallery in Los Angeles in 1962. The reasons for this shift are unclear, although Kirk Varnedoe has posited that the choice of iconic products elevated Warhol’s subject matter from “the expressionist grunge of tabloid vulgarity towards the commonplace banality of middle-class commodities.” (Kirk Varnedoe, “Campbell’s Soup Cans, 1962,” in Heiner Bastian, *Andy Warhol: Retrospective* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art:, 2001), 42.)



## CHAPTER 4: THE SPACE OF THE DISPLAY WINDOW

During this era of rapid artistic change, the department store window was a space in which artist identity could in fact be produced. Just as notions of the ideal woman could be constructed through an assemblage of products, a fine artist's reputation could be established by the proper exhibition of his works. For the first time, American artists had begun to think of their practice as a potential profession. Larry Rivers described the shifts he observed within the art world during the 1950s as follows:

Discussions on the virtues and problems of figurative art as opposed to abstract art began mingling with the news of artists getting shows and selling their work and appearing in newspaper and magazine articles... You began to hear the word "career" more often in relation to what began taking place-the scene, so to speak. You were able to use the word with a greater degree of reality. I still remember not long afterwards Bill de Kooning saying to me: "Well you know, it's a good living!" It sounded shocking.<sup>35</sup>

Despite its participation in the realm of commercial art, window dressing provided the opportunity for aspiring artists to prominently display their art, sell work, and achieve name recognition through publicity. Not only did display directors encourage 'trimmers' to feature their own art within the department store windows, but Gene Moore even hosted an annual display highlighting the new work of his employees.<sup>36</sup> In a 1986 interview Warhol remarked, "I used to do a lot of things for Bonwit's... I thought all the people who were in the windows went into a gallery."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Larry Rivers in Bradford R. Collins, "Life Magazine and the Abstract Expressionists: A Historiographic Study of a Later Bohemian Enterprise," *The Art Bulletin* 73.2 (June 1991): 301, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3045794>.

<sup>36</sup> Donna M. De Salvo, "Learning the Ropes: Some Notes About the Early Work of Andy Warhol," in *"Success is a Job in New York--": The Early Art and Business of Andy Warhol*, Ed. Donna M. De Salvo (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1989), 22.

<sup>37</sup> De Salvo, "Learning the Ropes," 22.

Despite its participation in the stereotypically feminine and homosexual realms of shopping, fashion, and commercial art, the display window nevertheless acted as a liminal zone between department store and fine art gallery. Or as Sara K. Schneider puts it, “The conjunction of fine and commercial display aesthetics reflects the symbiosis of art and commerce in the twentieth century.”<sup>38</sup> In reading the anecdotes of celebrated window dressers such as Gene Moore and Lester Gaba, one discovers that the storefront window – particularly that of Bonwit Teller – was a magical realm which elevated fashion to the status of art and rendered art a good for purchase. This process of mutual exchange began to achieve popularity in 1925, following the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts. The innovative exhibitions witnessed there, which juxtaposed modern art and everyday goods, prompted Lester Gaba to remark that “Display went Arty – with a capital A.”<sup>39</sup> In his 1952 instructional book, *The Art of Window Display*, Gaba would repeat this sentiment by directing window dressers to incorporate pictures into their displays: “Let your mannequins examine them as if they were at an art gallery or museum. Pick up reproductions of some artist who’s in the news.”<sup>40</sup> Acting as the display director at Tiffany’s and Bonwit Teller during the late 1950s, Gene Moore funded up-and-coming artists by hiring them to dress windows and simultaneously bolstered their careers by allowing them to include their art in the display. He describes the transaction as follows:

I’ve always paid a rental fee for any art used in my windows, and when a piece is sold out of a window, as has often happened, I don’t ask for a commission. But money isn’t the reason artists come to see me...I’m constantly commissioning artists to make me specific objects for use in the windows I’ve planned, but I also ask artists to bring me their “serious” art. At Bonwit’s, particularly during the late 1950s, I turned the windows into a modern art gallery, with works by as many as ten artists displayed in the windows alongside mannequins dressed in merchandise. Everyone benefited...the artists got a free showing of their work, I

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<sup>38</sup> Sara K. Schneider, *Vital Mummies: Performance Design for the Show-window Mannequin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 36.

<sup>39</sup> Schneider, *Vital Mummies*, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Lester Gaba, *The Art of Window Display* (York: Studio Publications In Association With Crowell, 1952), 67.

got free decorations for my windows, and the store achieved a reputation for being avant-garde, for having truly modern taste.<sup>41</sup>

In Moore's account, then, the department store functioned as a sort of democratized gallery where both the clothing and the art were for sale. No wonder Warhol would go on to predict that "all department stores will become museums, and all museums will become department stores."<sup>42</sup>

The comingling of art and commerce that characterized Moore's window displays in the late 1950s was preceded in 1951 by a fashion photography spread in *Vogue* (Figs. 17-18) that featured Pollock's drip paintings as the backdrops for ladies' eveningwear. Art historian T.J. Clark seized on these photographs in his essay, "The Unhappy Consciousness," claiming that they offer an emblematic example of the way capitalist culture subsumes any attempts to renounce the figuration of everyday consumer life. Outlining an ideological divide between mimesis and abstraction, Clark writes:

...abstract art has lived for much of its life in some kind of productive anxiety about the uses which might be made of it in the culture. In particular it has claimed that the forms and orders which art would discover by doing away with resemblance would not be easy or merely enticing; they would not be simply "decorative."<sup>43</sup>

And yet the *Vogue* spread offers the very antithesis of this abstract ambition: not only does it render Pollock's paintings decorative, but it ultimately reduces them to décor. This is the "colonization of everyday life" that Clark declares as a defining process of capitalism.<sup>44</sup> Once spontaneous, subjective, and non-representational, Pollock's drip paintings are now transformed into a sort of "apocalyptic wallpaper" intended to evoke the aesthetic qualities of a cocktail dress

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<sup>41</sup> Moore, *My Time at Tiffany's*, 67.

<sup>42</sup> Rob Walker, "Museum Quality," *New York Times*, January 9, 2005, [http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/09/magazine/09CONSUMED.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/09/magazine/09CONSUMED.html?_r=0) (accessed March 28, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> T.J. Clark, "The Unhappy Consciousness," in *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 363.

<sup>44</sup> Clark, "The Unhappy Consciousness," 308.

and elevate fashion to the heights of fine art.<sup>45</sup> In the process of self-promotion, Pollock's work became a commodity for the home, and he himself became a household name.

Aside from issues of commodification, the photographs also speak to the gender stratification of fine art and fashion spheres. A number of interpretations of the Vogue spread have suggested that the juxtaposition of undulating tulle and streams of paint intentionally draws an aesthetic parallel between fine art and fashion, and in doing so collapses the boundaries between the two professions. On the other hand, the photographs taken by Cecil Beaton also construct difference by representing fashion as a feminine pursuit, while fine art is revealed to be a masculine one. Although Clark argues that Pollock's work is transformed into decoration by its context, the drip paintings nevertheless imply a dynamic male body that can be contrasted with that of the static female model. Already by 1951, Abstract Expressionism was associated with masculinity in large part due to the machismo of the movement's founders, as well as the aggressive manner in which they applied paint to canvas.<sup>46</sup> As Gavin Butt has pointed out, the number of photographs depicting male painters dripping paint upon a horizontal canvas while in the company of their motionless wives demonstrates this dichotomy of male action versus female passivity. For example, he argues that Hans Namuth's photographs of Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner (Fig. 19) clearly demonstrate the way in which the photographer "[staged] the male artist as a normatively masculine figure, clearly demarcated from his significant feminine other."<sup>47</sup> Likewise, in Beaton's spread any dynamism offered by the folds of fabric is undermined by the static, posed bodies of the fashion models. The female model is thus a mannequin meant to be looked at, not a body that moves.

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<sup>45</sup> Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," 34.

<sup>46</sup> Butt, *Between You and Me*, 46.

<sup>47</sup> Butt, *Between You and Me*, 47.

In many ways, Warhol's Bonwit Teller display adheres to the dichotomy of male action versus female passivity that was presented by Beaton's Vogue spread and reproduced in many other fashion photographs from the previous decade. Even the April 1, 1961 edition of Vogue – released just weeks before Warhol's department store exhibit – uses this convention (Figs. 20-21). Over a four-page spread, models in slim black skirts and beige linen dresses pose dramatically in front of the artworks or mingle within the white walls of New York City's Tibor de Nagy Gallery.<sup>48</sup> As with Pollock's Vogue spread and Warhol's exhibit, the status of the art on display vacillates between fine art and interior decoration. In Warhol's window one witnesses obvious aesthetic resonances between the canvases and dresses at the level of coloration and patterning; and yet the paintings of Superman, the Little King, and Popeye offer instances of exaggerated masculine motion – such as putting out a fire, crashing a car, and throwing a punch – that are absent in the controlled gestures of the female mannequins. If Warhol's paintings of male subjects represent parodies of masculine strength and power in a style associated with male action, they would seem to create fashion as a separate sphere of elegantly posed femininity. In contrast to the comic book heroes' sailor suit and mighty cape, the graceful mannequins have been adorned with floral dresses that cling to their curves and restrict movement. There is a deliberate attempt to draw parallels between the flowery dresses and the brushy paint strokes and drips of Warhol's work. Interestingly enough, one article in the April 1961 edition of Vogue declares that “Your clothes owe you the feeling that you're contemporary,” and instructs women to wear “an artist's print rather than a gardener's.”<sup>49</sup> Yet the day dresses in the Bonwit's window are distinctly floral, and their figurative patterns preclude them belonging to the realm of artistic abstraction.

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<sup>48</sup> “Beige looks speeding into summer,” *Vogue* 137, no. 7 (April 1 1961): 166-169.

<sup>49</sup> “Vogue's eye view: What your clothes owe you,” *Vogue* 137, no. 7 (April 1 1961): 107.

Another method used to distinguish between the female realm of fashion and male realm of fine art is a more literal, spatial segregation. In both Pollock's Vogue spread and the Bonwit's window there is a planar distinction imposed between the bodies and canvases that seems to indicate a hierarchy of value. Of course, the art on display in Vogue and Bonwit's cannot escape its commercial context – nor should it, given the artists' desire to sell work. Still, the space between the two forms of merchandise is a chasm created by the artists in order to keep fashion at a remove from what members of the art world considered a more noble pursuit. It is worth noting that the segregation effected in Warhol's April 1961 window is not readily observable in his previous commercial displays. During the year 1955, Warhol created a series of windows advertising perfumes like Replique, Pot Pourri, Shalimar, and Miss Dior. All of these windows assumed a similar format: a wooden fence was decorated with girlish illustrations, and the perfumes for sale were displayed in small compartments that had been cut into the fence. As such, the product was integrated with the commercial art, and both entities visually interacted to create new meaning. For example, in his Miss Dior window of 1955 (Figs. 22-23), Warhol depicted a heraldic crest complete with mermaids, thigh-high stockings, French flags, and a woman's profile. The lady's mind has been segmented into parts representing stereotypically feminine areas of thought, including mending, sewing, and dressmaking. One compartment, however, features a bottle of Miss Dior perfume. Two-dimensional illustration physically intermingles with three-dimensional product, and neither appears to supersede the other. By contrast, another window from 1955 (Fig. 24) attempts to highlight Warhol's artistic work in a manner similar to his April 1961 display. In this exhibit, a mannequin dressed in a billowy polka-dot dress turns toward Warhol's illustrations, which have here been framed and hung from the ceiling in a vertical column. As with the display of his early Pop paintings, no physical interface

exists between the planes. Perhaps for Warhol this functioned as a metaphor for the perceived boundary between the stereotypically masculine, heterosexual art world and the effeminate, homosexual realm of fashion.

And yet despite the physical separation of fashion and art in the April 1961 display, there are nevertheless fleeting instances of interconnectivity. First and foremost, the mannequins are assembled in front of the paintings, with their feminine silhouettes effectively superimposed over the kitsch content of the art. In some cases, especially in *Advertisement*, the mannequin's shadow is cast upon the surface of the painting and made to become a character in the scene. Other juxtapositions create striking visual similarities between female body and painted canvas. For example, the woman in the black and white floral dress has been turned 90 degrees to her left, demonstrating the perfection of her nose in relation to the transformational images of *Before and After I*. Likewise, the mannequin in blue wears pristine white gloves on her hands, recalling the white silhouette on blue background in *Saturday's Popeye*. Resonances such as these complicate the otherwise distinct spatial hierarchy of the exhibition. In some ways, then, the heteronormative display window provided a space where opposites – such as commercial and fine art, masculinity and femininity, homosexuality and heterosexuality – could be subtly negotiated.

## CHAPTER 5: THE WINDOW AS AMBIVALENT ZONE

One benefit of window dressing was that it allowed artists to earn a living while effectively splitting their commercial and artist identities. During the late 1950s, many progenitors of Pop – such as Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and James Rosenquist – were working in relative obscurity as window dressers. For many of them, this obscurity was welcome. For example, Johns and Rauschenberg worked as a team under the anonymous pseudonym of Matson Jones.<sup>50</sup> Given their fine art aspirations and their potentially detrimental homosexual identities, it is unsurprising Johns and Rauschenberg avoided association with the stereotypically homosexual profession of commercial art.<sup>51</sup> In fact, they even avoided association with Warhol, whom they considered to be too ‘swish.’<sup>52</sup> According to Gavin Butt, “to be seen publicly associating with Warhol would be to risk guilt by association: that they too would come to be viewed as suspect homosexuals and that this would have consequences – whether real or imagined – for their critical and economic success as artists.”<sup>53</sup> This closeting is reflected in both the lives and the professional output of these artists. Meyer points out the paradox of gay men producing creative displays in which their own sexuality is concealed, stating, “Their identities and desires as homosexual men...remained invisible within the very layouts and shop windows they designed.”<sup>54</sup>

Meyer’s assumption can perhaps be complicated, however, by a closer analysis of several displays that seem to subvert heteronormative expectations – one of these being Warhol’s

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<sup>50</sup> They completed several artistic windows under the direction of Gene Moore, including one series where they replicated Dutch still lives using Tiffany’s merchandise and props. (Moore, *My Time at Tiffany’s*, 77.)

<sup>51</sup> Silver, “Modes of Disclosure,” 195.

<sup>52</sup> See *POPism: The Warhol ‘60s* for Warhol’s account of the infamous ‘swish’ conversation that transpired between Andy and Emile de Antonio. (Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 11-12.)

<sup>53</sup> Butt, *Between You and Me*, 112-113.

<sup>54</sup> Meyer, “Most Wanted Men,” 115.



Bonwit Teller display. Noting that the profession of window dressing was composed of a disproportionately large percentage of homosexual men, Sara K. Schneider explains that “in many ways there may be two audiences for display mannequins in New York: the straight female population, generally assumed – whether or not correctly – to be in need of fashion education, and a design-conscious gay male population both within the industry and outside it.”<sup>55</sup> With this in mind, how might homosexuality in fact be visible, on display and encoded in the seemingly straightforward representations of gender and sexuality contained in Warhol’s 1961 Bonwit Teller window? What subversive messages reside in the arrangement of bodies, goods, and art?

One remarkable anecdote recounted in Gene Moore’s autobiography offers a striking example of how even the most heteronormative of displays could contain playfully subversive messages regarding gender and sexuality, intended specifically for industry insiders in the know. Moore recalls how he incorporated glamour shots of a “beautiful and absolutely unknown” model in a series of perfume displays, concealing the fact that the woman in question was actually a man. “The model attracted attention,” Moore writes gleefully, “and I received calls from fashion editors and photographers asking me where I’d found her. I said she’d gone back home to Sweden. I didn’t want to say she was a he – my friend Cris Alexander. Good makeup changes everything.”<sup>56</sup> One of the displays in question ironically depicts Alexander dressed as a stunningly feminine bride (Fig. 25), his face covered by a delicate veil and a bouquet in his hand. The photograph is framed by a pair of actual shutters, as well as a windowsill covered in flowers and ornate bottles of perfume. Thus, beneath this façade of heterosexual marital bliss is an undercurrent of transvestism which transgresses normative notions of gender and sexuality.

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<sup>55</sup> Schneider, *Vital Mummies*, 29.

<sup>56</sup> Moore, *My Time at Tiffany’s*, 48-49.

According to Trevor Fairbrother, Moore's trickery was privately known within a small gay circle and considered to be a remarkably clever joke.<sup>57</sup>

With this example in mind, the Bonwit Teller window space can be reconceived as an ambivalent zone containing instances of gender slippage and homoerotic encoding.<sup>58</sup> While this essay has previously endeavored to reveal how the distinct planes of Warhol's 1961 exhibition can be interpreted as representing the separately gendered realms of masculine fine art and feminine commercial illustration, the display also complicates gender binaries in a variety of ways. In Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's essay, "Gosh, Boy George, You Must Be Awfully Secure in Your Masculinity!," she redefines masculinity and femininity as orthogonal: "instead of being at opposite poles of the same axis, they are actually in different, perpendicular dimensions, and therefore are independently variable."<sup>59</sup> Referring to the psychological androgyny research of Sandra Bern, Sedgwick suggests that a person is not automatically less feminine simply because they are highly masculine. Just as androgynous people lack any discernible gendered traits, some people are considerably "more gender-y than others" and possess a high level of both genders.<sup>60</sup> Sedgwick calls masculinity and femininity "threshold effects," a term which I would like to use to reconceptualize the space of the display window. Rather than preserving dichotomies of commercial illustration versus fine art; homosexuality versus heterosexuality; and female versus

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<sup>57</sup> Trevor Fairbrother, "Tomorrow's Man," in *"Success is a Job in New York--": The Early Art and Business of Andy Warhol*, Ed. Donna M. De Salvo (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1989), 72.

<sup>58</sup> Rosalind Krauss identifies another example of homoerotic encoding in her discussion of Warhol's early 'oxidation paintings', begun in 1961. Members of Warhol's studio were asked to urinate and ejaculate onto canvases, adding a sexual subtext to the seemingly formalist works. Krauss argues that the horizontal 'painting' process and resulting abstract aesthetic were intended to evoke the work of Abstract Expressionist painters – and also to create a homoerotic parody of their practice. (Rosalind Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 276.)

<sup>59</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Gosh, Boy George, You Must Be Awfully Secure in Your Masculinity!" in *Constructing Masculinity*, Eds. Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Carrie Mae Weems (New York: Routledge, 1995), 15-16.

<sup>60</sup> Sedgwick, "Gosh Boy George," 16.

male, Warhol's Bonwit Teller exhibit acts as a threshold through which bodies and objects can pass and shift into new dimensions of meaning.

In particular, I would like to suggest that the extreme femininity of the mannequins can be reconsidered as a parody akin to drag performance. Once the construction of exaggerated feminine traits becomes visible as artifice, a dimensional shift takes place whereby the body begins to recall the characteristics of masculinity (or androgyny) that would otherwise be effaced. Contained in the window space are several images of overstated gender performance – prominent in both the muscular comic book heroes and the curvaceous mannequins – and yet these traits begin to approach the level of parody, thereby subverting the potential to signify a single, concrete gender identity. In her essay “Gender is Burning,” Judith Butler writes that the space of ambivalence “opens up the possibility of a reworking of the very terms by which subjectivation proceeds – or fails to proceed.”<sup>61</sup> By this, she means that the act of miming the gender norms which restrict ‘deviant’ behavior can create a rupture that reveals those norms to be artificial. Within the ambivalent space of Warhol's display window, repetitions of gender parody allow the rigid categories of male and female to be deconstructed and resignified.

In order to present an idealized feminine form to which female shoppers can aspire, mannequins have historically been constructed to possess all the conventional signs of womanhood. Their bodies are shaped to be slender, with exaggerated hips and breasts that make the merchandise fit more attractively. In the Bonwit windows they've been adorned with wigs of various hues, the perfectly coiffed hair alluding to trips to the beauty parlor or hours spent in front of a vanity mirror. Furthermore, the female figures are adorned with fashionable accoutrements – such as purses, hats, gloves, and of course dresses – to reiterate their identities

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<sup>61</sup> Judith Butler, “Gender is Burning: Questions of Appropriation and Subversion,” in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 124.

as women. Even the mannequins' poses are constrained and delicate, exhibiting no exaggerated gestures or implications of mobility. Here femininity is constructed through various emblems of femaleness. In her essay "Performative Acts and Gender Construction," Judith Butler describes this process of signification as follows:

Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather it is an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts. Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self.<sup>62</sup>

Within the Bonwit Teller window, then, mannequins perform femininity through their adherence to conventions of female dress, action, and mannerisms.

Given the fact that mannequins lack both biological sex and actual vitality, their ability to perform the illusion of femininity effectively highlights the remarkable potential of coding to produce gender. However, the repetition of exaggerated femininity within the window begins to create an excess of meaning – in much the same way that the parody of femininity performed by drag queens begins to subvert conventional gender binaries. The potential to construct and deconstruct femininity likely stood out to many male window trimmers, who spent much of their time dressing mannequins as various versions of the ideal woman. Moreover, their membership in homosexual social circles often entailed firsthand knowledge of the similar practices of drag performance and transvestism – as Moore's anecdote of the male bride makes clear. Warhol himself was intimately familiar with such phenomena; not only did he name one of his I. Miller shoe advertisements after Christine Jorgensen (Fig. 26), the first person in the United States to undergo sex reassignment surgery, but he was also known for attending parties in women's

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<sup>62</sup> Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893>.

dressess of his own creation.<sup>63</sup> In his book, *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol*, he contemplates the practice of drag, writing,

Among other things, drag queens are living testimony to the way women used to want to be, the way some people still want them to be, and the way some women still actually want to be. Drags are ambulatory archives of ideal moviestar womanhood...I'm fascinated by boys who spend their lives trying to be complete girls, because they have to work so hard—double-time—getting rid of all the tell-tale male signs and drawing in all the female signs...It's hard work to look like the complete opposite of what nature made you and then to be an imitation woman of what was only a fantasy woman in the first place.<sup>64</sup>

From this anecdote we can discern that Warhol was highly aware of the idealized femininity to which many women aspired, as well as the fantastical status of such a construction. This fascination with gender mutability is perhaps what led him to cast drag queens like Candy Darling and Ondine in several of his experimental films.

Many have noted the visual similarities between drag queens and mannequins, but this link becomes particularly pertinent in the context of Warhol's Bonwit Teller window.<sup>65</sup> In a sense, the female bodies on display here enact Luce Irigaray's "double gesture," whereby women construct and deconstruct their essences simultaneously. Sexless and lifeless, these mannequins perform idealized femininity, provoking live audiences to aspire towards their female perfection. Yet in spite of achieving such perfection, their insistent artificial repetition begins to recall their own repressed androgyny. When a rupture occurs through repetition, even the most female bodies can be reconceived as other. As a result, these mannequins "possess multiple essences which may even contradict or compete with one another."<sup>66</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick channels Irigaray's multiplicity when she argues that masculinity and femininity are "places where

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<sup>63</sup> "Self-Portrait in Drag," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Collection*,

<http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=114422> (accessed March 27, 2013).

<sup>64</sup> Andy Warhol, *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 54.

<sup>65</sup> Schneider, *Vital Mummies*, 30.

<sup>66</sup> Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature & Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 72.

quantitative increments along one dimension can suddenly appear as qualitative differences somewhere else on the map entirely.”<sup>67</sup>

Slippages in gender identity can of course be incidental, but Warhol actually incorporated images of biological lack into the display which foreground the constructedness and instability of gender more blatantly. Provoking a return of the repressed, *Advertisement* contains a medical illustration of an anatomically incorrect torso that recalls the sexlessness of the mannequins. Located on the right side of the painting, the fragmented body and corresponding demand, “Where is Your RUPTURE?” come from an advertisement for surgical sutures (Fig. 27). In the context of the display, however, the anatomical absence is disorienting and strange, refusing both male and female identities. Lacking both a penis and a vagina, it possesses a blank in the place of a sexual organ. It seems important to recall Freud’s notion of castration anxiety at this point, which theorizes that a child’s first exposure to the female reproductive organ can result in the imagining of the vagina as a wound resulting from castration. In some senses, then, the question “Where is Your RUPTURE?” acknowledges the fragmented torso’s phallic lack and attempts to comprehend the absence of wound. When viewed next to the mannequins on display, it seemingly calls into question the lack of reproductive organs on their female bodies – despite their otherwise convincing performance of ideal femininity. While the mannequins’ enactment of femaleness initially effaces their lack of biological sex, their parodic exaggeration of gender and Warhol’s evocation of absence send the bodies careening into new realms of androgyny and even masculinity.

Along with femininity, masculinity is also negotiated in the space of the Bonwit’s window. Many of Warhol’s chosen images deal with notions of manhood, emphasizing a full head of hair and well-developed muscles as the defining traits of masculinity. For example,

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<sup>67</sup> Sedgwick, “Gosh, Boy George,” 16.

Popeye and Superman are both transformational figures who can acquire super strength within seconds. Although Clark Kent is a reserved and mild-mannered character, he morphs into a muscle-bound hero at the slightest hint of danger. Similarly, any threat towards Popeye's girlfriend Olive prompts him to inhale a can of spinach and become "one tough Gazookus," as the theme song goes. Even the Little King comic includes a false symbol of strength in the suit of armor, which shatters upon impact with the diminutive king's car. Masculinity is presented as an attribute that can fluctuate – at times becoming exaggerated or even disappearing completely. Aside from physical strength, hair also seems to be a male concern within the display. The face in profile at the top of Advertisement is taken from an ad for men's hair dye, and as previously mentioned, the issue from which Superman is derived includes a plotline in which Superman exposes the baldness of Lois Lane's new love interest. The men depicted in the Bonwit's display are constantly in the process of becoming something better, and their self-improvement is achieved through consumption of products and services promising enhanced masculinity.

The relationship between superheroes and self-improvement is particularly apparent in the pages of the Superman comic book, *Superman's Girl Friend* no. 24. Within the thirty-six page issue are six full pages of advertising, with one dedicated The Jowett Institute of Body Building (Fig. 28). Obviously catering to the young men who aspired to the incredible strength of the comic book heroes they read about, the ad shows men in various states of exhibition. One section even portrays a man carrying a woman in a dress, declaring, "Mary, you know how they used to call me 'MR. SKINNY', ... now, they call me 'MR. MUSCLES'." Promising "physical perfection" and guaranteeing to build the customer into "a new athletic streamlined mighty-muscled he-man," George F. Jowett only requires the reader to fill out and return the enclosed coupon. These aggressively worded ads with brawny male bodies must have appealed to Warhol,

as he included a similar bodybuilding image in his painting *Advertisement*. Not only do such ads offer aspirational examples of the idealized male form, but they may have also functioned as objects of desire for homosexual men who viewed them.

The department store display window has long been considered a space of desire, where the need for consumption becomes inextricably tied to sexual possession. This phenomenon is made explicit by Marcel Duchamp in a note he wrote while working on *The Large Glass*. In it, he theorized that the display window effectively encourages “coition through a glass pane with one or many objects of the shop window. The penalty consists in cutting the pane and in feeling regret as soon as possession is consummated.”<sup>68</sup> If the New York display window of the early 1960s catered not only to women but also to gay men, how might the contents thus appeal to homosexual desire and fantasy? The multiple painted images of muscular men within Warhol’s *Bonwit Teller* exhibition begin to offer an answer to this question.

Images of Superman and Popeye within Warhol’s window may have been a source of erotic fantasy for both heterosexual female shoppers and homosexual male fashion aficionados who passed by the 57<sup>th</sup> Street windows. Superman, depicted in a form-fitting bodysuit and striking red briefs, is the picture of physical perfection. Even one of the mannequins appears to turn and appreciate his physique. Although Popeye’s body is only represented in silhouette form, he possesses similar qualities of muscularity and strength. Yet there is another image – easily overlooked – which depicts a more realistic version of male beauty. One of the frames included in the lower left-hand side of *Advertisement* reveals the upper body of a handsome man who assumes a stereotypical bodybuilding pose. His arm is flexed close against his body, and his abdomen and chest muscles are well-defined. Near him are the letters “ST G ARMS,” meant to allude to the text in the original advertisement. The source material for this image was an ad for

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<sup>68</sup> Janis Mink, *Marcel Duchamp, 1887-1968: Art as Anti-Art* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1995), 76.



Anthony Barker's 25¢ course (Fig. 27) on how to develop "STRONG ARMS and BROAD SHOULDERS." Like the Jowett Institute for Body Building, Barker promises to send consumers a 20-page booklet full of exercises and tricks to attain the perfect male body. The accompanying illustration portrays the shirtless upper body of a well-built man, leaving viewers to imagine his lower section.

Warhol's depiction of the strong-armed man bears a striking resemblance to the perfectly modeled, nude male bodies found in beefcake magazines of the time (Fig. 29). While these magazines purported to offer their readers health advice and athletic exercises, the photographs of attractive, muscular young men were largely marketed to a homosexual audience who lacked legal access to gay pornography.<sup>69</sup> If the painted representations of the male model, Superman, and Popeye can be considered erotically charged fantasies of the male body, Warhol's Bonwit Teller window consequently becomes a space where compulsory heterosexuality is subverted. Laura Auricchio has made a similar argument with regards to Robert Rauschenberg's *Thirty-Four Drawings for Dante's Inferno* (Fig. 30), which include multiple duplications of nude male bodies transferred from such magazines and partially obscured by gestural washes of paint. Auricchio convincingly suggests that "indices of homosexuality hide in plain sight, introducing a camouflaged expression of homosexual longing into the predominantly heterosexual mores of the mid-century American avant-garde."<sup>70</sup> I am interested in this duality of visibility and concealment in Warhol's gestural paintings: if one interprets Warhol's Bonwit Teller window from a heteronormative viewpoint, the images of exaggerated masculinity painted in a distinctly male Abstract Expressionist style adhere to standard gender conventions. And yet for gay

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<sup>69</sup> Laura Auricchio, "Lifting the Veil: Robert Rauschenberg's *Thirty-four Drawings for Dante's Inferno* and the Commercial Homoerotic Imagery of 1950s America," in *The Gay '90s: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Formations in Queer Studies*, Eds. Carol Siegel, Ellen E. Berry, and Thomas C. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 129.

<sup>70</sup> Auricchio, "Lifting the Veil," 119.

audiences both inside and outside the fashion industry, the male bodies featured here may have well registered as icons of sexual fantasy, effectively provoking coition through a glass plane. In Auricchio's words, "Barred from producing his own code, the homosexual reproduces 'counter-codes' by necessity and becomes 'a prodigious consumer of signs – of hidden meanings, hidden systems, hidden potentiality.'"<sup>71</sup>

Yet there is one male body that is missing from the Bonwit Teller window, and that is Warhol's body itself. The Bonwit's windows were changed each Tuesday, meaning that window dressers worked through the night every Monday ensuring the perfection of their arrangements. Crowds would often gather to watch the employees hang art, pose mannequins, and situate the latest merchandise to be sold (Fig. 31). It is not difficult to imagine Warhol in the Bonwit Teller window, organizing his art hopefully among the accompanying mannequins and accessories. Trimmers would even use the reflection of the window while working, relying on the mirror image to get a wider view of the overall arrangement. Warhol's body must have thus been reflected back at him – integrated into his radically inclusive exhibition. As such, the window was not simply a public spectacle but also a realm of voyeurism. It should not be surprising that Warhol's 1961 display was deeply personal – it was the culmination of all his personal and professional anxieties on the eve of his success as a fine artist. Concerns about his hair loss, skinny figure, bulbous nose, effeminate illustrations, commercial reputation, and openly homosexual identity are all embedded in the bodies and images on display. In this way, the pane of the Bonwit Teller window preserves a fundamental and ephemeral moment within Warhol's dynamic career.

In conclusion, Andy Warhol's April 1961 Bonwit Teller window can be considered a space of negotiation and liminality. While it initially purports to represent a heteronormative

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<sup>71</sup> Auricchio, "Lifting the Veil," 140.

realm of gender stratification, compulsory heterosexuality, and separation between artistic spheres, a closer examination of the exhibit reveals its potential for subversion. Considering Warhol's own identity as a gay man working in a stereotypically effeminate commercial art profession while aspiring to a more masculine career as a fine artist, it is not surprising that the window complicates traditional gender roles and sexual preferences. By applying a gestural style to the kitschy images taken from comic books and tabloids, by parodying gender through absurd exaggerations of masculine superheroes and feminine mannequins, and by exposing the male nude as a source of sexual arousal, Warhol recreated the heteronormative window space as a zone of ambivalence. For any aspiring artist who identified as homosexual during the 1960s, transgression of societal binaries was a requisite part of everyday life. As such, it is only natural that Warhol's window space offers a realm of indeterminacy and radical inclusion. By 1962, Warhol had eliminated commercial art, the Abstract Expressionist mark, and the 'swish' persona from his repertoire. But for one week in April of 1961, all of the contradictory impulses that comprised Warhol's complex identity were revealed.

## IMAGES



Figure 1. Andy Warhol, Bonwit Teller Window Display, April 1961  
(Bastian, *Andy Warhol*, 95.)



Figure 2. Andy Warhol, *Little King*, 1961  
(Bastian, *Andy Warhol*, 97.)

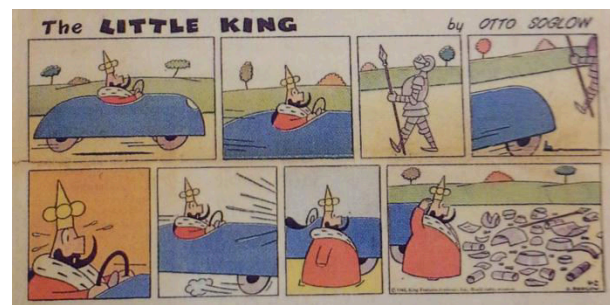


Figure 3. *Little King*, *New York Journal-American*, April 2, 1961  
(Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*)





Figure 4. Andy Warhol, *Superman*, 1961  
(Bastian, Andy Warhol, 98.)



Figure 5. Cover, *Superman's Girlfriend, Lois Lane* no. 24  
(Grudin, "Except Like a Tracing," 150.)



Figure 6. Andy Warhol, *Before and After I*, 1961  
(Bastian, Andy Warhol, 100.)

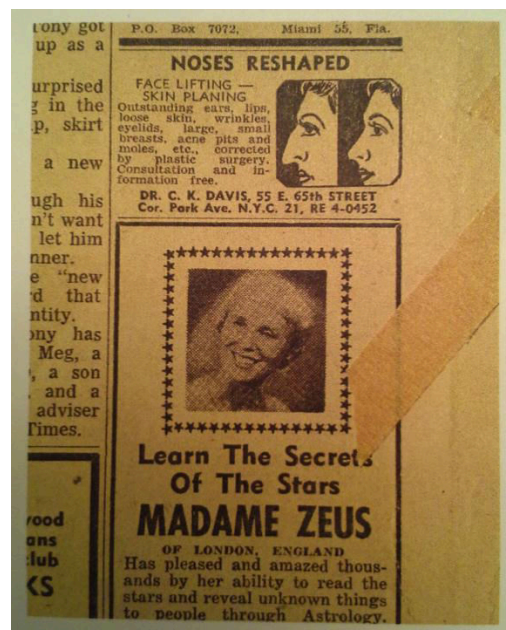


Figure 7. Advertisement, *National Enquirer*, April 2, 1961 (Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*)



Figure 8. Andy Warhol, *Saturday's Popeye*, 1961 (Bastian, *Andy Warhol*, 99.)



Figure 9. *Popeye*, *New York Journal-American*, March 18, 1961 (Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*)



Figure 10. *Popeye*, *New York Journal-American*, March 18, 1961 (Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*)

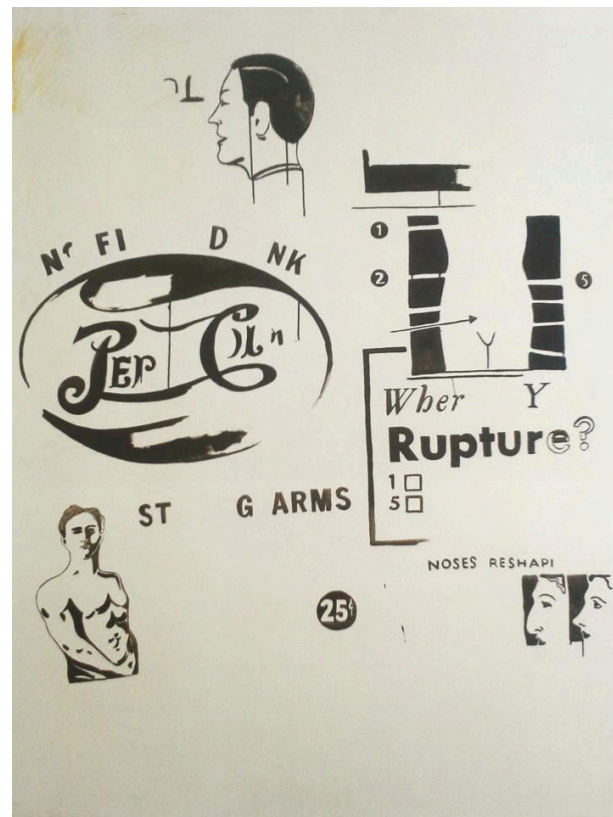


Figure 11. Andy Warhol, *Advertisement*, 1961 (Bastian, *Andy Warhol*, 96.)





Figure 12. Drip-style dress in *Vogue*, March 1952  
(Doss, *Benton, Pollock and the Politics of Modernism*, 412.)



Figure 13. Warhol's I. Miller ads, "Speaking of Pictures: Crazy Golden Slippers," in *LIFE Magazine*, January 1957  
[http://exhibitioninquisition.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/christian-dior\\_andy-warhol\\_crazy-golden-slippers\\_life-magazine.jpg](http://exhibitioninquisition.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/christian-dior_andy-warhol_crazy-golden-slippers_life-magazine.jpg)

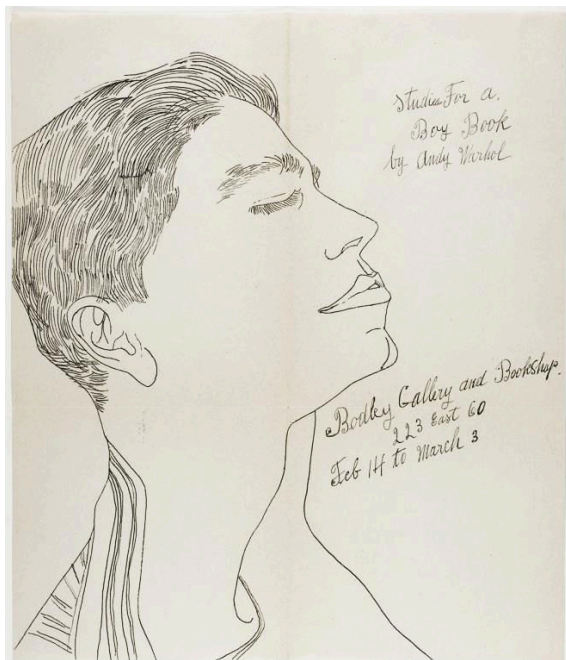


Figure 14. Andy Warhol, *Study for a Boy Book*, 1956 (Meyer, "Most Wanted Men," 124.)



Cordova... by Millerkins... our rich new daytime red, as darkly gleaming as a man's cordovans... and as invaluable neutral. The heart neckline pump, neat and narrow on a mid-high heel, 17.95. Exclusive **L. Miller**

New York • Washington • Philadelphia • Baltimore • White Plains • Rochester • Atlantic City • Salem • Abrahams & Straus, Brooklyn; L. Rosenberg, Newark

Figure 15. Andy Warhol, *I. Miller Advertisement*, c. 1955  
<http://oaj.oxfordjournals.org/content/33/2/211/F6.large.jpg>



Figure 16. Andy Warhol, *I. Miller Advertisement*, c. 1956  
<http://artlovingfashion.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/warhol-shoe-1956.jpg>



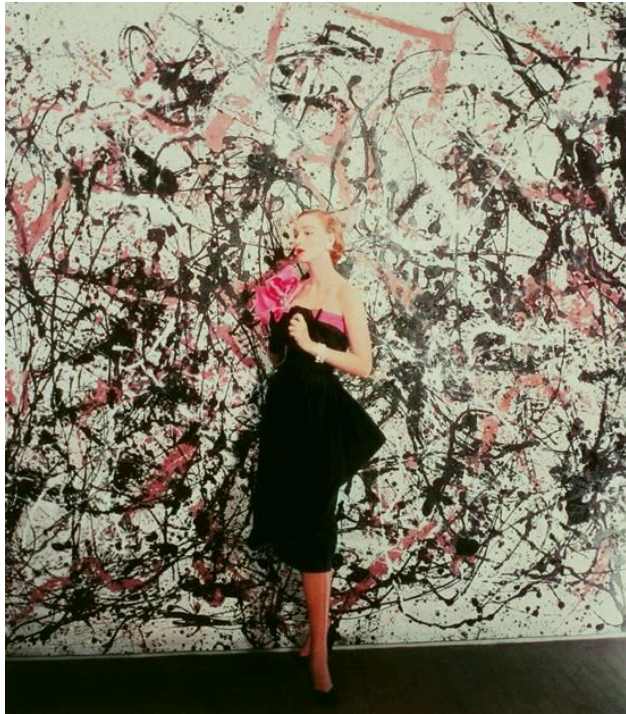


Figure 17. Cecil Beaton, *Irene*, in *Vogue*, March 1951 (*Vogue*, "Jackson Pollock's Abstractions," 158.)



Figure 18. Cecil Beaton, *Sophie*, in *Vogue*, March 1951 (*Vogue*, "Jackson Pollock's Abstractions," 156.)



Figure 19. Hans Namuth, *Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner*, 1950 (Butt, *Between You and Me*, 47.)





Figure 20. Tibor de Nagy photoshoot, *Vogue*, April 1961 (*Vogue*, "Beige looks speeding into summer," 166.)



Figure 21. Tibor de Nagy photoshoot, *Vogue*, April 1961 (*Vogue*, "Black-and-white looks" 168.)

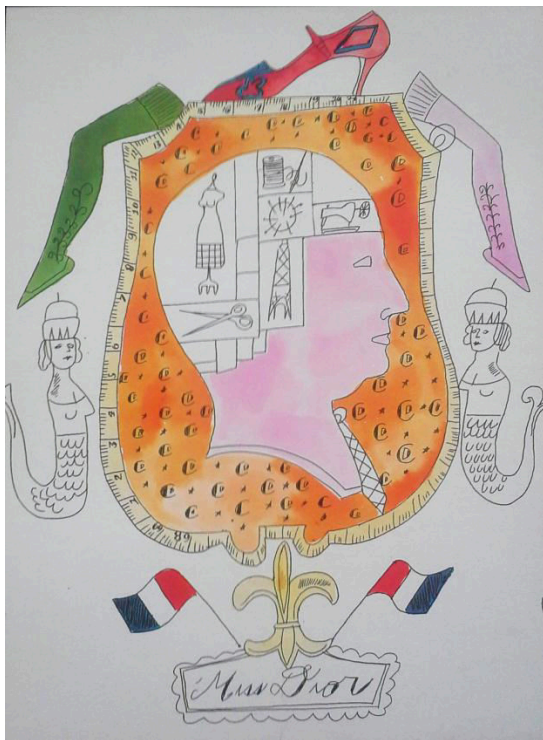


Figure 22. Andy Warhol, Miss Dior sketch, c. 1955 (King, *The Warhol Look*, 108.)



Figure 23. Andy Warhol, Miss Dior window display, 1955 (King, *The Warhol Look*, 108.)



Figure 24. Andy Warhol, Bonwit's display with drawings, 1955 (King, *The Warhol Look*, 106.)



Figure 25. Gene Moore, Bonwit's display featuring Cris Alexander (Moore, *My Time at Tiffany's*, 40.)

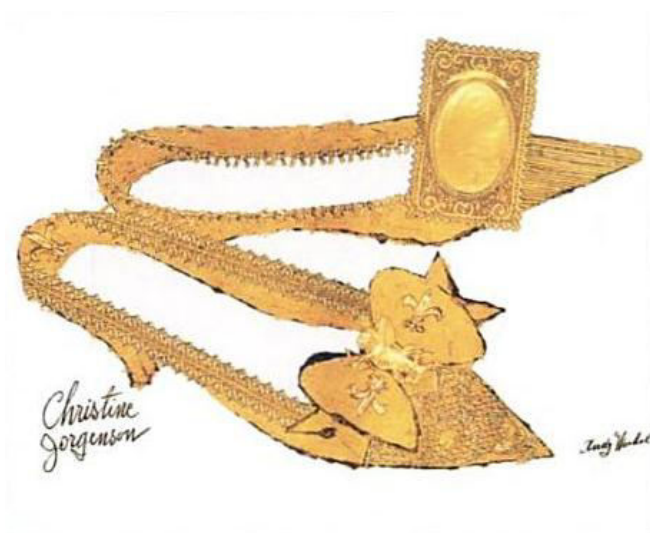


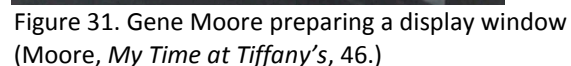
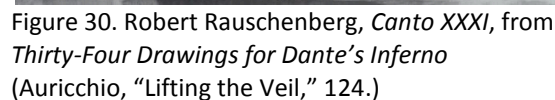
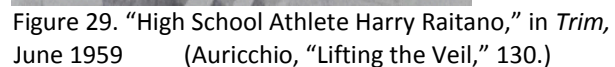
Figure 26. Andy Warhol, *Christine Jorgensen*, 1956 (Meyer, "Most Wanted Men," 113.)



Figure 27. Prepared collage for Advertisement (Frei and Printz, *Catalogue Raisonné*)



Figure 28. Ad in *Superman's Girlfriend* issue no. 24, April 1961 (Grudin, "Except Like a Tracing," 151.)



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